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· UPON THE
PRESENT DEBATES
ABOUT
PEACE and WAR.

NATURAL RESOURCES

UPON THE

PRESENT DAY

ABOUT

THEir REECTIONS

WATER RESOURCES

IN THE COUNTRY OF

Printed by the Government

Reed, Charles

**NATURAL REFLECTIONS
UPON THE
Present Debates
ABOUT
P E A C E
AND
W A R.**

**In two Letters to a Member of
Parliament from his Steward
in the Country.**

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LETTER

TO A

Member of Parliament, &c.

December 22. 1711.

SIR,

I Could not Answer Your's of the Fifth Instant, till I had try'd all Means to Answer it Effectually. You tell me you expected Money from me to keep your *Christmas* at *London*; I wish I could promise You any by *Easter*. I have been among the Tenants, and though most of them are above a Year and a Half in Arrear, they protest they have no Money, they say they will give me Cattel or Commodities, but that will not Answer your Occasions. And yet your Estate is in better Condition than most in the Country. I dare not Press them too Hard, for fear they run away and

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leave your Land Wast, as several of late have done.

You allow me to give you Account sometimes of the Sentiments of our People in the Country concerning Publick Occurrences. All the Discourse now is of *Peace* or *War*. And I cannot say we are Divided herein, for, except some who are visibly Gainers by the *War*, and a few Bitter *Whigs*, whom we know to be their Tools, there is not one *Country-Man* I believe in *England* who is not Weary of the *War*, and does not heartily long for *Peace*. The Argument is Feeling, for the Country is Exhausted, and the Poor encrease so fast upon us, that if no Remedy be Applied, they must in time Eat us up. Good Substantial Trades-Men, and many Thousand Hands imployed in the *Manufactures*, who were able to Contribute towards the Poor, are now grown Poor themselves, and put upon the Parishes. This is so Notorious, and known every where, that we are in Amaze how the Pamphlets in *London* can go down with any Body of Common Sense, which tell us, that Taxes are not Grievous, and that the Nation is able to Support this War for many Years to come. Nay some maintain that we are grown Richer by the *War*, and Trade more Flourishing than it was before. This I have heard Argued, seemingly in good Earnest. — But I am persuaded that there is not a Gentleman in
 your

your House who has one Foot of Land, who can be Imposed upon at this Rate. But these Conjurers who would thus Enchant us out of our Senses, are only such as having great Employments in the War, and vast Sums in the Funds, which pay no Taxes, Charge in Armour, and feel nothing of the Burden.

They tell us, we must have no Peace till all *Spain* be Reduced. But they tell us not when that will be, or that it is ever likely to be. We have tryed Ten Years War upon it, and had wonderful Successes beyond Expectation, and yet we are now but to Begin. And instead of thinking to Pay those Immense Debts for which the Nation is Mortgaged for Ages to come, shall we Continue to Sink it still Deeper, while there is one Penny left, or Credit for another Shilling, till all *Spain* is Reduced, with all its Dominions both in *Europe* and the *Indies*? And we must Fight on, and Tax on, *ad Græcæ Catervas*.

When this War began, those very Men who now Persuade us to Continue it, told us it was no War against *Spain*, no, far from it, it would be Extravagance to think of Conquering *Spain*: But that we only sent to Aid the True, Honest and Loyal *Spaniards*, who were all Universally in the Interests of K. *Charles*, and wanted only the Appearance of an Army to Protect them, and then they would Turn about
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in such a Revolution as was in *England*, and that they had sent to assure us of this, and Implore our Assistance. And accordingly at our first Expedition to *Porto St. Mary*, we put out Declarations to Invite them to Join Us as their Friends, and took Care to Convince them of it. This was just such a Notion, and as well Grounded as our new Conceit of Conquering them, who would not accept of such Friendship. And they have told us, to our Cost, that we quite mistook their Inclinations, and must goe again. And that neither *Siragossa*, nor another Visit to *Madrid*, if another Ten Years War should bring us thither, would make them Abandon their King and his Son to whom they have Sworn. And we have made them better Soldiers, we have Beaten them, as the *Swedes* Beat the *Muscovites*, till we taught them to Beat us. They say, *Experience is the School-Master of Fools*, but they who will not be taught by it are something Worse, even Fated to their own Destruction, under a Judicial Infaturation for their Sins, and to bring it on with their own Hands.

Do we expect any more Assistance from our Allies than we had before, or can we Promise our selves more Romantick Successes than we have had, to give us new Hopes of Conquering *Spain*? Our Allies can give us no more Promises than they have done. But they never kept them, no nor
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in any one Campaign, either as to their Quota of Men or Money, or the Time of taking the Field, whither the Imperial Army seldom came till after July; he was ~~Samuel~~ ~~Augustus~~. And we were forced to make good all their Deficiencies every Year. And the Excuses they made were still that they could not help it; it was not in their Power. And do we expect any other from them, than we have had Year after Year these Twenty Years past, if we should Continue the War Twenty Years longer? And thus far, we may believe what they have said to be True, because all that was Conquered by our Blood and Treasure was to be Theirs and not Ours; therefore why should they not do their utmost? Unless they thought, by such a Bargain as we made, that we were bound to Expend the last Drop of our Blood for Them; tho' they were unable or unwilling to Help themselves in making good the Quotas stipulated.

It is Generous to Help a Neighbour in Distress, but not over-Prudent to do it without all Regard to our own Interest, to pull inevitable Ruin upon our selves, to save him from a Danger; to Mortgage my whole Estate for more than it is Worth, and Expose my Posterity to Beggery, in Compassion to a present Scrat he is in, and from which he may Extricate himself, and has done it before by a little Industry.

England

England has Expended in this War the
 Half of what it is all Worth if it were to
 be Sold: And if it were a Private Man's
 Estate he would be a Bankrupt. And if
 the War continues much longer our Debts will
 never be Pay'd, or our Posterity must sub-
 sist to be Miserable for many Generations.
 And if they should be forced into new
 Wars before these Debts are Pay'd, will
 they not be under a Necessity of Post-
 poning them? Charity begins at Home.
 And I would not take a Thorn out of ano-
 ther Man's Foot, to put it in my Own.
 Queen Elizabeth would not Assist the
 Poor Distressed States till she had Cautionary
 Towns put into her Hands, as a Security
 that they should Perform the Conditions
 they Agreed to, and Re-imburse her Ex-
 pences. But K. William in the first War
 thought this needless, because he knew
 them, and they were then Grown to be
 Hogan Mogan, and so less Able or Willing
 to do it. And the present War was like-
 wise his, the Alliances for it were made
 by him, as you may see in the Queen's
 Declaration of this War, Nothing was left to
 her but to Execute what he had Prepared.
 And the Peace now being in such a for-
 wardness, as Her Majesty has told us in
 her most Gracious Speech, and Peace or
 War being now the Subject of almost that
 Civil War which is Raised in this King-
 dom about it; and new Promises made by
 some

some of our Allies for a more Vigorous Prosecution, and offering to enter into new Articles with us for that End; the Continuance of this War may be looked upon as a new War: And is it not Time yet to look to our own Security, to Demand Cautionary Towns for Performance of future Promises, since all heretofore have proved Ineffectual? If such Promises be made Sincerely, this cannot be Refused. As he who Intends to Pay, will not grudge what Security he can give; especially considering what great Losers we have been hetherto by Trusting to bare Promises. And the same Answer as before is still Ready — We cannot help it — We can do no more — And the present Posture of Affairs — But in Time we will set all things Even — That is, When you have got *Spain* and the *Indies*. Well if we must stay till Then, let us in the mean Time make up our Accounts, let us see what the Emperour, the Dutch, &c. are in Arrear to Us for the Troops we have advanced, and the Money we have Expended, both by Sea and Land, beyond our Quota. And let us have good Security for this, before we enter into New Engagements. And likewise for what we shall Expend (if it should so happen, as it has done) beyond what shall be Agreed upon as our Proportion, in the future War. And our Allies are better able to do this than

before. *K. Charles* of *Spain* has now the Kingdom of *Naples*, and other Noble Countries in *Italy*; his Kingdom of *Hungary* is now Quieted, and may Contribute very much; and he is since made Emperour of *Germany*, and has great Hereditary Countries: The Duke of *Savoy* has likewise got great Additions, to what he had before: And the Dutch are in Possession of a Larger and more Fertile Country, than their Own. But *England* has got Nothing but Honour. That is thought Sufficient for Her, to Ballance all the abovesaid Accounts. And to go on at the same Rate while she is Worth a Groat. And they would be thought the Best *English-Men* who Argue on this Side: These are the Men that are for Continuing the War.

But they say, why should the Queen make the Peace alone? Why not with the Rest of her Allies?

Why? Is the Peace made? Is there not to be a Congress of the Allies? She received Proposals from *France*, and has Communicated them to all the Allies. What other could a Faithful Ally do? The Dutch received Proposals, which was the Occasion of the Meeting at *Gertruydenburg* in 1709. But they kept them under their Thumb, and treated Separately, for none of the Ministers of the Allies were admitted, but the Deputies of the States only. And the Rest were to know nothing but what They

They pleased to tell Them. The Imperial Minister protested against this Method. And if others did not do so, no doubt they had their Reasons, but it may very well be Questioned whether they were such as would bear the Light. Was there no Private Article in Favour of the Dutch, which the Rest of the Allies were not to know? And is it not come out since, but not from Them? And how was the *Partition Treaty* Carried on? Did the Parliament know a Word of it, or any English Man that we know of? Was not Lord S—rs Com-manded to put the Great Seal to it, without being permitted to know the Contents of it? And was not the Peace of *Reswick* made by *Bouffler* and *Bentrick* under a Hedge? Yet now the Queen must be Insulted, because she is Graciously pleased to Acquaint her Parliament with her Proceedings as to the Peace. Is it because she has so far Condescended to wave her Prerogative which she was not obliged to do?

What is the Meaning that the Town Swarms with Scurrilous Papers and Pamphlets against the Peace (and they come down to us in the Country, and are spread with the most affected Indultry) even to Threaten the Queen and the Ministry, as if the Faction were Crying to Arms, and Ready for the Onset? *A Toast for A—e and Robbin in the French Wine*, &c. has been Publicly Hawked about the Streets, even before the Roy-

al Exchange, and Explained by Charles Collins, who said, That he would Sacrifice the Queen, and One Hundred such as she was for Prince Eugene. That she was a Mechanick, her Father was a Collier, and a Rogue, And that he was better Born than she was. And he did not Deny that he had so said, when brought before Sir William Withers, and made not so much as the Excuse of being in Drink, only that he was in a Passion, for which Sir William sent him to Newgate. As we have it in the Post-Boy of the 12th Instant. And in that of the 18th, one Robert Mason who was taken up for saying, If the Queen pretends to an Hereditary Right, she is a Bastard, and I can Prove her One. We see what goes among the Party. The like we have in full Meaning, tho' not in such broad Words, in severall of our Pamphlets. The Whigs Appeal to the Tories, in a Letter to Sir T—— H—— Says, p. 5. "When our own Liberty and the Liberties of Europe are in Danger from the Artifices of France, it is time for all such as have a Concern for them to Unite against the Common Enemy and his Adherents." These Adherents are all that are for the Peace, Her Majesty not Excepted. And against These we must Unite, that is, Enter into a New Association. And pointing to that Part of Her Majesty's Speech where she tells us, that we have a Good Peace soon near in View, he Asks very Dutifully, p. 11. "What

“What, and Whose are the *Views* that have produced this sudden Friendship between Us and the French?” And adds, *Let that be well Weighed.* And p. 14. he uses this Argument for her Breaking off the Peace, that then the *Whigs* will not Charge her with *Betraying our own Liberties, or the Liberties of Europe.* That is to say, they will Charge her with Both, if she goes on with the Peace. And if she should not, then they will say she was Forced to it by their Threatnings; and the Objection of having Attempted it will always lye against her, and will not be thought less Criminal than having done it. Are not they Capable of putting such an Alternative upon Her Majesty either way, who already have Suggested that she is in a Confederacy with *France* to Transport our Wooll, after the Peace, and Ruin our Manufactures? This you will find p. 32. of the *Defence of the Allies*, in Answer to *The Conduct of the Allies*, where speaking of the Transportation of our Wooll, he says, *Which for ought we know, when the New Confederacy with France comes to Perfection, we may Incline to.* This is Studying to Provoke, and telling the Queen she must Submit. And thus they Understand what is called the *Emperour's Letter to the States General*, Printed in the *Courant* of the 12th Instant, where he Presses the *States*, to seek Means to Induce the Queen of Great Britain, and if Possible, to Engage her

to Reject those Propositions (of Peace) and to Continue the War. To Induce may mean to Persuade, but if possible to ENGAGE, added to it, must, without a Tautology, mean some other sort of Persuading. Especially when the same Letter calls those Articles which it Supposes the Queen has approved, *Artificial, Dubious, Equivocal, and Unjust*. And then speaks of his being Irritated against Those who give Assistance to their Enemies, abandon their Allies, and renounce their Alliances, &c. And then follows, to Induce, and if that will not do, to Engage Her Majesty. And then Protests he will send no Ambassadors to the Congress, &c. This cannot be the Emperour's Letter; he could not so soon forget the best Benefactor he ever had in the World, not excepting his Father and Mother; and has more Wit (if he had no Gratitude) than to Insult her, without whose Generous Assistance he had never set a Foot in Spain, nor maintained himself there One Hour; nor can an Hour longer than she is pleased to Allow him her Protection.

This Letter makes him say, *For which (the Spanish Monarchy) only, and for preserving it in our Imperial Family, and at the same time for maintaining the Peace of Europe, this War was Undertaken*. The Imperial Family might have had the Empire and Spain too, but it was never meant they should Both come into the same Hand. Else why was
it

it thought fitting, that the Emperours *Leopold* and *Joseph* should Resign to the Arch Duke *Charles*, but that the Empire and *Spain* should not be in One Hand? This would not be Maintaining the Peace or Ballance of *Europe*, but by a vast Over-Ballance to Destroy it; and *Charles VI.* might be greater than *Charles V.* who was an Over-Ballance to all the Rest of *Europe*, and threatened an universal Monarchy. And he who is already invading *Tuscany* as a Fief of the Empire, and putting the rest of *Italy* under Contribution, shews what he would do if he had Power enough: And then he may call to mind the Claim of *Spain* upon *Holland*. Therefore the States had good Reason for the Resolution they passed upon the Death of the late Emperour *Joseph*, that the Empire and *Spain* should not be United in the same Person; As we are told in the *Conduct of the Allies*, p. 77. A Gentleman of very good Sense told me, That when he was lately at *Vienna* he saw a Book Printed there, Asserting that the Emperour had a Right to all that formerly belonged to the *Roman Empire*. But we ought not to Wonder much at this, considering that as *Grotius* (*de Jur. Bell. & Pac.* l. 2. c. xxii. Sec. 13.) assures us, others, and particularly the Famous Civilian *Bartolus* have gone much further, and Asserted that the Emperour has a Right not only to whatever was at any time Possessed by the *Cæsars*, but even to the

the Sovereign Dominion over the whole Universe, Declaring it no less than *Heresy* to deny this Doctrine. And as a Comment upon it, I am assured by an Ear Witness, that in the Publick and Allowed Forms of Prayer for the Emperour, there is this Petition offered to God Almighty, *Subditas Ei faciat Omnes Barbaras Nationes*. That is, *That all Barbarous Nations may be made Subject to the Emperour*. Now what Extent may be given upon Occasion to the Word *Barbarous* we need not be told, when we find in *Guiciardin*, that Pope *Julius* the Second, invited the Italian Princes into a League for driving all the *Barbarians* out of *Italy*. By which was meant their next Neighbours of the same Religion and almost the same Language with themselves, the *French*, the *Spaniards*, the *Switzers*, &c. But could their Meaning of the Word *Barbarous* admit of any Dispute, the Inscription over the Imperial Palace at *Vienna* wou'd be more than sufficient to clear it. Their Claim to the Universal Monarchy is there set forth, if not in so many Words, at least in so many Letters, *A. E. I. O. U.* that is, according to the common Interpretation put upon them by the *Germans* themselves, *Austria Est Imperare Orbi Universo*, that is, *The Dominion of the whole World belongs to the House of Austria*. This Piece of *Latin* gives us a true Specimen both of their Wit and Moderation, but the First of these Vanish

in the Translation, and there remains only what may shew us, that the Emperor wants not Claim and Prescription, whenever he thinks he has Power sufficient to set up his Universal Monarchy, which is daily Prayed for in their Publick Offices, and therefore he is sure of the Devotion of the People. And therefore we may Bless God that it is not in our Power at this time to Enable him to set up his Pretensions, by such an Over-Ballance as the whole Monarchy of *Spain* and the *West-Indies* would give him.

“ When the Vote passed in the House of
 “ Lords, against any Peace with-
 “ out *Spain* being Restored to *Conduct of the*
 “ the *Austrian* Family, the Earl *Allies, p. 63.*
 “ of *W——* told the House, That it was
 “ indeed impossible and impracticable to
 “ recover *Spain* ; but however there were
 “ certain Reasons, why such a Vote should
 “ be made at that time ; which Reasons
 “ wanted no Explanation: For the *General*
 “ and the *Ministry* having refused to ac-
 “ cept very Advantageous Offers of Peace,
 “ after the Battel of *Ramellies*, were forced
 “ to take in a Set of Men, with a previous
 “ Bargain, to Skreen them from the Con-
 “ sequences of that Miscarriage.

Thus that Clear and Convincing Account of *The Conduct of the Allies and of the Late Ministry* ; at which some have Cavilled, but none has Answered. It is Pleasant to

see how they would Defend the Allies, and then fall Foul upon them in Defence of the late Ministry, and in both quite Overthrow the poor Arguments they bring for continuing the War. Thus the *Defence of the Allies* in Answer to that Objection, why so little was done in *Spain* during their Administration? Turns the Fault upon the Allies, and shews that it was impossible to do any thing as they managed the Matter, or to overcome the Difficulties in the Attempt of Conquering *Spain*. He says, p. 26. " We have found by our own Experience, " that *Flanders* is not the Place where he, " (the King of *France*,) is best able to keep " us at Bay, for there we have all along " pushed and gained Ground upon him : " But in *Spain* he has kept us at Bay indeed, and may well do so to the end " of the Affair; where by the Publick Accounts it appears that every Foot Soldier costs us 26 l. 8 s. Sterling, before " we can set him on Shore, besides the " Loss upon those that Die; where the " Distance of the Place makes sudden Relief, or sudden Advice, impracticable in " Case of Disaster; and where the *French* " can maintain a Thousand Men Cheaper " than we can maintain a Hundred. Thus he; And must we never have Peace then till we have Conquered *Spain*?

But our Allies the *Portuguese* are nearer, and may save us the Charge and Danger of

of Transportation, &c. Let them Fight, and we Pay them. — So then we must never have Peace till *Portugal* can Conquer *Spain* assisted by *France*. Which if they could do, I fancy it would be for Themselves, and not for Us. And if they should break Faith with us, then the War must go on till we have Conquered both *Spain* and *Portugal*, which being reduced into One, would be more Difficult for us, and all this Author's Objections of Transportation, &c. will lye Stronger against us, for then we shall have no Port at all to go into, whereas we have now *Lisbone*, &c. But the *Conduct* having shewn the Behaviour of the *Portuguese* towards us during this War, the *Defence* fairly gives them up, and says, p. 29. "Let the Conditions with *Portugal* be never so much to their Advantage, or our Dishonour — Let them be Mercenary, Impatient, and make their Advantage of our Circumstances, we have nothing to say to it, then it must be so, and who can help it? The Question is not what the *Portuguese* are? But whether we wanted them, or no? Then he goes on to shew we wanted them. But for what? For Conquering *Spain*. So that is still supposed a Fundamental Article. And if we Conquer it now, it is for the Emperour, to make him an Over-Ballance for all the rest of *Europe*. And to what a fine pass shall we have brought a War

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undertaken

undertaken to Preserve the Ballance of Power in *Europe*, when we shall at last have no Remedy left, but to join with *France* to reduce the Exorbitant Strength of the House of *Austria*. For when we see, as we certainly shall, tho' perhaps it may be too late, that our Conquering *Spain* has cast the Scales, we must begin once more and Conquer it back, or else the Ballance will not be even. But whilst this Ballancing Work goes round, we shall find we have only exhausted our selves, and that to such a Degree as to be for the future incapable of adding the least Weight to either Side. For if this War lasts but a few Years longer, and we make no more Advantage of our Conquests than we have hitherto done, we shall have nothing left but to shut up our Exchequer; since the Interest of our Debts rises so fast every Year of the War, that it will soon equal all the Landed Rents in *Britain*.

But our Posterity may not think fit to be Undone, because their Fathers were Mad-Men. They may either Cancel these Debts, or Tax the Funds till they make them Pay themselves. Nor can the *Whigs* take this Ill, for it is their current Doctrine, that we are not Bound by the Laws and Rules of our Fore-Fathers, but that every Man is Born free and to Consult his own Preservation.

The

The Wit of Man cannot find out Ways
 and Means to oblige Posterity; no, nor
 themselves neither, further than they have
 a mind to. The Laws of God cannot do
 it; Why should the Laws of Man? How
 many Laws of our Fore-Fathers, and Acts
 of Parliament still in Force, have the *Whigs*
 broke through, to carry on their Designs?
 And Necessity with them answers all Ar-
 guments, though it be only Visionary, and
 what they Fear. But Debts are Present,
 and what Men Feel. And this Necessity
 has no Law. They are already grown a
 Burden exceeding Heavy. And shall we
 Encrease them Six or Seven Millions every
 Year till we can Conquer *Spain*? We
 suspect Men who run so Lavishly in Debt,
 that they never intend to Pay. Especially
 when they who Owe us vast Sums already
 tell us they must have more ——— and
 more ——— Till they have Perfected
 some Project which all the rest of the
 World declare, and they themselves know
 to be merely Chimerical. But it is Pro-
 voking to see them Laugh at us, and tell
 us we only fancy our selves Poor, for that
 we were never so Rich, that our Trade
 was never so Flourishing, *Nor were Rents*
ever so well Paid in the boasted Times of Peace,
 as we are told in these Words in *The Whigs*
Appeal, p. 9. These Men deny what they
 cannot avoid Seeing, if they Walk the
 Streets or the High-ways, that is, the
 Multitudes

Multitudes of Poor, that swarm every where. And there was never seen in *London* so many Houses shut up with Bills upon the Doors: Nor such prodigious Numbers of Bankrupt Tradesmen, as fill our *Gazetts* every Day. And then it is no Wonder that our Poor Rates are Increased, beyond whatever was known in *England* since it was a Nation, inasmuch that in some Parishes they Pay Five, Six, Seven, Eight Shillings in the Pound for the Poor, in some more. Our *Custom-House* Books shew how Trade Flourishes: And Landed Men know how Rents are Paid; It is their common Excuse to their Creditors. I would not Expose the Nakedness of the Nation; But would we make a Secret of our *Gazetts* and Publick News of our daily Losses at Sea, which affect both the *Exchequer* and the *Exchange*? And must we persuade our selves that we are Richer than ever? There is nothing else can Support the Cry of No Peace without *Spain* — No Peace without *Spain* — Else say they, what have we been Fighting for? Why did we begin this War? I know none alive Capable of Answering this Question; for the War was Concerted by *K. William*, even this present War, and the Alliances fix'd and concluded, before her present Majesty came to the Throne, and she was Obliged by those Treaties he had made. But whatever Views he had, which

which we may not know ; or however he might have mistaken his Measures, there is no Argument from hence, that we must continue to Play on a desperate Game. He had not the Experience of a Ten Years War to satisfy him of the Unfeasibleness of such an Undertaking : And he might have been Deceived (and I suppose was) by the Representations of the Imperial Court, as if the Inclinations of the *Spaniards* were towards the House of *Austria* : Or otherwise we have Cured them of that by our Management since. But be this how it will, there can be no Reason not to alter our Measures, according to the Event of Things ; not to run our Head against a Wall, and Prosecute a War wherein the Expence is an inevitable Ruin to us if the War continues long, and the Prospect of Succeeding, by the most Sanguine Computation, extremely Hazardous ; and the Issue very Doubtful at least ; if we should Succeed, whether it would prove to our Advantage ? Whether it would Preserve or Break the Ballance of *Europe* ?

In Answer to this important Objection, great Pains is taken to lessen the Power of the House of *Austria* : They turn the the wrong End of the Glass to us, which makes all Fears from thence very little, and at a great Distance. A very Spiteful Invective against the Queen and the present Ministry, called, by the Rule of Contraries,

traries, *A Vindication of the present Ministry*,
 &c. Says, p. 16. "Has not the House of
 " *Austria* been Exhausted by continual Wars
 " for these Thirty Years past? Are not
 " the Hereditary Countries drained ap-
 " most to the last Drop? And is it not
 " the same with *Spain*? Was it not in a
 " Miserable languid Condition before this
 " War began? And is it possible to de-
 " scribe how much it has Suffered since?
 " What is it then we pretend to Fear? Is
 " there any thing but the Shadow of Po-
 " wer left? Has not the Weakness of the
 " House of *Austria* been sufficiently Disco-
 " vered by the weak Efforts they have
 " made this War — by their Inability
 " to Compel the Princes of the Empire to
 " do their Parts in the Prosecution of the
 " War? Can we turn our Thoughts to
 " any one Side, on which we would take
 " a View of the Strength of the House of
 " *Austria*, and not presently observe it to
 " be all Weakness? — And the Addition
 " of the *Spanish* Monarchy will be a Bur-
 " den to him rather than any Advantage
 " for many Years, tho' a Burden he would
 " be glad to bear. — I doubt it not, for
 the Security of *Britain*, and Good of the
Protestant Religion. — But these Decla-
 mation-Men soon Run themselves out of
 Breath, they think not of the Consequences,
 or how one Part will stick to another, but
 to speak Roundly, and all that can be said
 upon

upon the present Subject. But he found it out at last, what a Discouragement it would be to the Prosecution of the War, to give so wretched an Account of our Great Ally, and that he could not keep to his Engagements with us, for that it was not in his Power. Therefore this Orator immediately shifts the Scene, and in the next Page, begins to magnify the Power of the Emperour, at least what it will be in a short time, with the Addition of *Spain*. For, says he, "As the New Em-
 " perour is more concerned to Maintain
 " himself in the *Spanish* Monarchy, and
 " knows better the Condition of it, so has
 " he a great Deal more in his Power
 " than he had before; and therefore we
 " may reasonably expect he will make
 " greater Efforts, than either he or his Bro-
 " ther ever yet did. Here the Rhetorick flags most shamefully. He has got himself into a Dilemma, for if the Emperour cannot make such Efforts, he is a poor Ally, and we have no Reason to continue the War, or Hopes to be better used than we have been: And on the other Hand, if he is able to make such Efforts as will Recover *Spain*, &c. believe it, we have Reason to look about us, lest we Breed up an *Eagle* to pick out our own Eyes, and see another *Armada* upon our Coasts as in 1588, from which the Interposition of Providence saved us, more than our own Strength or

D

Fore sight.

Foresight. He asks, p. 16, " Can we sup-
 pose the House of *Austria* could have a
 " Superior Fleet drop out of the Clouds?
 Yes, Sir, out of the same Clouds the *Armada*
 came. And a little Respite with good
 Management, may put *Spain* in as good a
 Condition as it was then. And we must
 not forget, That the King of *Spain* who
 then Invaded us, was not Emperour. But
 the Orator goes on in the same Place, and
 sayeth, " The Greatness of the House of
 " *Austria* might be Troublesome to their
 " Neighbours on the Continent, but what
 " have we to Apprehend from them? Now
 he forgets again, That the Emperour is
 King of *Spain*, and has *Naples*, *Scicily*, and
 other good Ports nearer us, which, if they
 were in any tolerable Condition, would ab-
 solutely Command the Mediterranean Trade.
 But now as to the Continent, is it nothing
 to us if the Emperour should Oppress his
 Neighbours? What made us Engage in
 this present War? Was it not to Save our
 Neighbours upon the Continent? And did
 not that afford the pretty Flourish in this
 Declamation p. 23. of *Polyphemus* and *Uliſſes*,
 that we should be Devoured last? But
 what if the Emperour should ever hereaf-
 ter be Troublesome to his Neighbour of
Hanover? (For it is a Part of the now *Ger-*
man Empire) Must we be unconcerned there
 too? Or what if the Emperour, as King of
Spain, should Revive his Claim upon *Hol-*
land?

land? It is true he has owned the States. But they have given a Precedent, in his own Case, how to get free, for they owned another before they owned him. And the Necessity which made them do it, may oblige them to return to their first Engagement: And I hardly believe they would Desire to see the Emperour and King of *Spain* in a Condition to Molest them. Or that if he did, we should think our selves Unconcerned, because they are upon the Continent. If we have no Concern for the Continent, let us make Peace to morrow, we are secure our selves till the *French* are Masters at Sea. The best Way to Support our Allies is, to preserve our selves in a Condition to Support them. And not to Load our selves, till we shall have neither Money nor Credit left to Help them or our selves. One Year's Tax more — And one more — This will be the last — Every one has been the last since the War began — Till (if some Mens Advice were taken) we could now have no Prospect of the Last. Will another *Bouchain* next Year do it? As we take One, the *French* will make Three or Four. It will take many Years Travelling to *Paris* at this Rate. And as the War is now brought to bear, it is not the longest Sword, but the deepest Purse must carry it. *France* and *Spain* dig fresh Money out of the Earth, and bring Home Fleets full of it every Year. We have no-

thing, but a decayed Trade to what it
 was. And our Credit is Crazy. How many
 Pamphlets have we had, and what a Noise
 has been made, about our Credit? Has it
 not been for such a Turn our Credit had
 quite Sunk. And how many Projects for
 restoring our Credit? A Merchant would
 stand ill upon the Exchange, if there were
 such Disputes about his Credit. It is an
 old Saying, and a True, That
 we must make Peace with our Swords in
 our Hands, and I suppose in mean time, with
 Money in our Pockets too; else this Peace
 will not be Lasting. But a short Peace will
 give our Enemies time to Recruit. And if
 we Recruit not as fast as they, we give up
 the Point of our Trade. But one Vigorous
 Push more will do it. Another *Blenheim* or
Dunsmuir — But have our Generals been
 able to bring them to another Decisive
 Battle since? There was something like it
 at *Melplacher* near *Mons*, of which we have
 not much besides immortal Honour to boast.
 But if we cannot Force the *French* to Fight,
 otherwise than by Defending a Town, which
 shall cost us a Campaign, when will the
 War end at this Rate? Or are we sure of
 Victory always, because we have gained
 Two Battles, both visibly by the ill Con-
 duct of their Generals? Unless we trust in
 the Assurance given us in the last Paragraph
 of the *Memorial* to which the Name of
Baron de Bathmar is put, That it cannot be
 the

the Almighty's Pleasure, that an Enemy so Exhausted, and Vanquished as he (the King of *Sweden*) has been on all Occasions, should at last destroy his Designs by this War, and get out of bed by a Peace Glorious to him, to the Ruin of the *Russians*, others, and to the Destruction of the Liberty of all Europe. If this be True, then we need not fear that this Peace will be such a One. And why are we in Dread about an Enemy so Vanquished, so Exhausted? The Exorbitant Power then is no more. But let us look upon a fresh Example now before our Eyes; the Victorious King of *Sweden* had Defeated the *Muscovites* in more Battels, and with far less Numbers, in proportion to his Enemies, than in any Victory we have gained over the *French*; and the *Muscovites* were held in more Contempt by the *Swedes*, than the *French* now by us. The *Czar* Courted that King for Peace, and but a few Hours before the Battel of *Poltowa*, offered him Safe and Honourable Terms, (we may suppose such as the King of *France* was willing to have granted in our first Preliminaries) but the King of *Sweden's* Heart was lifted up, Secure of Victory from his many Successes; but not smothered with such a Blasphemous Assurance, as that the Almighty could not turn the Scales against him. And though the War commenced against him was most Unjust, and without any Provocation on his side; yet he did not see, that when reasonable Satisfaction

faction is refused, from that time forth
 Right and Wrong change Sides; and God
 who had so wonderfully asserted his Right
 against such unequal Force, now forsook him.
 He was struck as it were with a Thunder-
 Bolt in a Moment, and remains an Instru-
 ction to all Christian Princes, not to lose
 the Opportunity (once in his Hands) of
 giving Peace to Europe, carryed by selfish
 Views, and trusting to their own Strength
 or Conduct. He was Guarantee of the
 Peace of *Resnick*, and when in *Germany* was
 in a Condition to have Inquired into the
 Cause of the Breach of it, who were the
 Aggressors, and what Reparation ought to
 be made? But he neglected Peace, and
 chose War; and from that Time ran Head-
 long to his Fate. I hope his Misfortunes
 have given him a sight of his Error, and that
 it will please God to Restore him, for he is
 a Prince Endowed with many Heroical
 Vertues.

The Blood and Desolation, of War is so
 terrible a Remedy, that nothing but the
 utmost Necessity can excuse it. And God
 will require a severe Account of those
 Princes and Powers of the Earth to whom
 He has committed this Sword of Vengeance,
 for every Life unnecessarily lost, and it will
 be reckoned Murder in His Sight, if the
 War be not Just, or a reasonable Peace is
 refused. All the Grains of Allowance, and
 favourable Presumptions are to be on the
 Side

Side of Peace; whence the Proverb, that the Worst Peace is preferable to the Best War. The Mortal State affords not an absolute Security either in Peace or War; and where Men may not foresee many Hazards. But when the Byass of the Mind is for Peace, the Difficulties will lessen, and we shall Inherit the Blessing of the Peace-makers, of which they are not Capable who Delight in War, whom *David* prays God to Scatter, though he himself was a Man of War; And though his Wars were Just, and against the Enemies of God, yet such Bloody Hands were Rejected from Building the Temple. The Church of the God of Peace, is not Cemented with Blood; He abhors Humane Sacrifices, such Carnage is the Worship of *Moloch*.

But these Men think all this Answered by saying, we are not against Peace, but we would have a Good Peace. The Queen has told them from the Throne, that they shall have a Good Peace; but they will not Believe her, nor Trust her. We know not yet what the Peace will be; The Congress for the Treaty is not yet begun; but they say, we can guess by the Preliminaries. Why? Every one of them are Concessions from *France* to us, and to the Allies: And more than was Proposed in the Grand Alliance it self. When what is, at first, Demanded by War, is obtained, there ought to be Peace, else Power and not Justice becomes the Rule.

Rule. And many things may be Adjusted in the Treaty, which are not in the Preliminaries, nor are any Preliminaries at all Necessary. Many Treaties have begun without Preliminaries, which are but a late Invention. May I not at any time hear what an Enemy has to Offer? Yet all the Out-cry now is about the Preliminaries. *The Vindication of the Present M—y*, employs many Pages, and all the Turns of his Eloquence to shew, that these Preliminaries are short of the former: But the Effect is, as in all Sophistry, to Betray the Cause he would Defend; for this is the heaviest Charge can be laid upon the Late M—y. That when such Advantageous Terms were offered by France, they would not accept of them, and end this Bloody War long ago. This shews they were against all Peace, when they Rejected one they now boast was so very Advantageous and Honourable.

But, Sir, Is it not most Audacious in any Subject to ask the Queen the Reasons of her Entering into a Negotiation of Peace, and upon what Terms, either Settled in the Preliminaries, or to be further Settled in the Treaty? Is not Peace and War the undoubted Prerogative of the Crown? She is Answerable to God for the Justice of any War she makes and the Blood-shed in it. Therefore she only is Judge when to put an End to it. And for any to Oppose her

Gracious

Gracious Intentions herein, when she declares them, is not only Presumption to a great Degree, but Savours not a little of Sedition, to Prejudice the People before Hand against the Peace the Queen shall make, if it be not as he has thought fit to prescribe. This is laying Hands upon her Prerogative, and has already filled the Nation with Papers and Pamphlets, not only Insulting, but Threatning her Majesty and her Ministry. How wisely did *K. William* avoid all this Uproar? He made the First War, and the First Peace, and this same Grand Alliance for carrying on the present War, in *September 1701*, without ever Consulting his Parliament, or any English Man that we know of. We knew nothing of Peace and War till it was told us by Proclamation: Nor would he suffer any Questions to be asked him about it. And how have we returned the Queen's Condescension in acquainting her Parliament with it? Though she does not in her Speech ask their Advice in it: And a forced Advice looks very like a Command. But to Censure a Peace before it be made, or even the Treaty begun, shews the deepest Prejudice; and that they are seeking Occasions against Her Majesty, and such as were never taken against any of her Predecessors, in the worst of Rebellions, to attack the only Prerogative almost left in the Crown of Peace and War.

E

But

But that, which most of any thing inflames the Nation, and Encourages Faction at this time, is the Liberty taken to Print Invectives against the Peace in the Names of Foreign Princes and States, as that called *The Letter of the Emperor to the States General*, before mentioned; *The Petition of the Council of State at the Hague to their High Mightnesses*, in the *Courant* of December 18. but especially that said to be the *Memorial* of his Electoral Highness of *Hanover*, in the *Courant* of December 5th. And since Printed in a large Sheet, and Hung up as a Picture, already dispersed up and down the Country. It is in the very Dialect of the Party, and Quoted by them at every Turn. *The Whigs Appeal* says, p. 10. *It is in you* (the House of Commons) *to Consider what his Electoral Highness has already Represented*. They set up this to Ballance the Queen's most Gracious Speech from the Throne, and tell us not obscurely by which of the Two we ought according to them to take our Aim.

But, Sir, We in the Country think it is not the Business of Foreign Ministers here, to set themselves at the Head of any Party among us; of those especially who now sit in the Face of Her Majesty. This is Acting the Part of an Enemy, not of a Friend or an Ally. Pray, Sir, inform us, has it been the Custom for Foreign Ministers to Print the Memorials they give in to the Government? This is Appealing to the People, and Blowing them up into Factions and

and Parties. Is the Commission of Ambassadors to the Prince, or to the People? We were told that Count G--l--s was sent away for this very thing, because he Trafficked with a certain Party here; and Printed the Preliminary Articles sent him by the Secretary of State, though without any Commenting upon them, as this Memorial does in an extraordinary Manner. And therefore we think the Baron de Bothmer could not so soon have fallen into the like Mistake; nor shall we believe it till we see some better Authority for it than a common News-paper. The other inflaming Papers we had from *Holland*; for though the States General our good Allies, have gone in readily with the Queen to the Treaty of Peace, yet there are there, as here, those who are Enemies to it, and dare speak Insolently of Her Majesty. *The Vindication of the Present M——y*, p. 19, has a long and Eloquent Panegyrick upon a certain great Pensionary. But we know his Pensionary, and whose Pensioner he is. This is he who Contrived *The Petition of the Council of State to the States General against the Peace*; And who formerly put the greatest Insult upon Her Majesty that, as she truly said, was ever offered to the Crown of *England*, in taking upon him with his Council of State, to Dictate to Her Majesty what Servants and Ministers she ought to Employ. And some of

our City Directors thought that they too might do the same, like the Ass that would Imitate the Lap-Dog. But they soon drew in their Horns. And these are now the Bellowers against the Peace, and Opposers of Her Majesty. These followed the Example of their Predecessors who would have Rebelled against King Charles II. if he would have let them, by giving way to their Clamours and Impetuosity in the Bill of Exclusion. They then Seconded in this Manner another Memorial of another Pensionary *Mein Heer Rager*, to promote that Bill, which was procured by another great Minister, then in the Secret, "Representing the sad Consequences Abroad of the Disagreement between the King and his Parliament, and wishing the King would not Break with them even upon this Point. But, as my Author says, the King so far Resented this meddling of the Dutch in his Domestic Affairs, and the part S — d — d had in it, that he dismissed him from the Council and his Office of Secretary. And Dismissal was the least could be done; for who can be safe with a Snake in his Bosome? No, not for an Hour; especially when Foreign Aid is Invited to Inflame our Combustions at Home. Who knows not that the Dutch were in all the Management of the Good Old Cause against King Char. I. And in the

Caveat against the Whigs. Second Edition. p. 103.

the Second Part Acted in the Reign of King Char. II? But it seems not the last, for they are now pursuing Q. Anne, with their Memorials, prompted by Agents from the Discontented Party here. She is beset at Home and Abroad, and has fair Warning to look to her Self. I pray God preserve her, and next under Him, her Security lies in being True to her Self, and Firm to her Friends, that she be not again brought under that Bondage which she before found Insupportable, and then would be Irretrievable. And to watch Foreign Ministers, and see with whom they Traffick. She can have no better Method to know the Sense of the Nation, than by her Faithful House of Commons who represent them, and dispose of their Money; who Support the War, and therefore are the best Judges, next after the Queen, when to put an End to it, by a Safe and Honourable Peace; wherein they Concurr with Her Majesty, and leave it entirely to her Management, according to her Undoubted Prerogative, which they are resolved to maintain against all Opposers whatsoever, as being the greatest Security to the Subject, whose Liberties always suffered, when the Rights of the Crown were Invaded.

It is the just Terror conceived by some Persons from the Courage and Sagacity of these Inspectors into the Welfare of the Nation, particularly as to the Disposal of the publick

publick Money, which is the true Cause of all this Opposition to the Peace; and forces our Commendation of the Wisdom of those Persons (like that of the unjust Stewards) but not of their Integrity. The House of Commons at the close of the last Session of Parliament gave in a Representation to Her Majesty, laying before her, That of the Monies granted by Parliament, and Issued for the Publick Service to Christmas 1710. there remains Unaccounted for, the Sum of Thirty Five Millions, Three Hundred and Two Thousand, One Hundred and Seven Pounds. This is a heavy Charge; and must Light somewhere. But while the War continues, there will be always Room to put it off, as hitherto, for more pressing Occasions. Here is a substantial Reason why some Men should be afraid of Peace, as Night-Birds of the Day. As also, why the Old Preliminaries tho' so very Advantageous, were not accepted by some who made not so little as One Hundred Thousand Pounds a Year by the War. And we may cease to wonder that they stood out upon One Article; which I dare say not one of themselves would have submitted to, if he had been in the King of France's Place; unless we had him in the Tower, with the Ax over his Head; if he would have done it even then. Hence the Cry now, why are not the Old Preliminaries insisted on? That is, till we get the King of France in that Condition:

Condition: They will be Content to stay till then before they are brought to Account. Like the Welsh Man who being Tryed for his Life, had the Choice of his Jury given him of the Twelve Honestest Men he knew, and he named the Twelve Apostles; but being told They were not here, and that it would be a great while before They came, Answered, that he was in no haste, he could stay till then.

But it is said, That the State of the War is not altered to our Disadvantage since these Preliminaries, therefore why should they not be insisted on still? For the Reason given before. And again, because the State of the War is very much Altered since to our Disadvantage: That is, as I said before, the French have found themselves able to carry on a Defensive War, without coming to a General Battel, only making us spend Six or Seven Millions to take a Town, which they would have given us for a Quarter of the Money; besides the cruel Slaughter of our Men before Stone Walls, while they save theirs. This being the Case, it may be the Welsh Man's Day before we can Conquer *France*, or Reduce their King to submit to such Preliminaries; which would be much the same, for he was first to deliver up his strongest Towns, as a Security for performing all the rest of the Articles, and then it was Reserved to the Allies to make what further Demands they

they thought fit; Which was the same as to bid a Man deliver his Sword, and then he should know what Conditions you would give him. Besides there were some things required which seemed pretty much out of his Power, if he had been ever so willing. That is, to do that in Two Months, which all the Allies have not been able to do in Three Years since, if they do it not before the end of *May* next, viz. to Reduce all *Spain*, *Scicily*, &c. under the Obedience of *K. Charles III.* I have heard Sober Men, and no Friends to *France*, say at that time, That these Preliminaries were Calculated to make Peace impracticable. But they had another Effect which was very different from what we were made to hope; for whereas *France* was then, soon after the Battel of *Oudenard*, in a very desperate Condition, and as our News told us, the People were up in Arms in several Parts, on account of the Imposts which they were no longer able to bear, and no less than a general Revolt of the whole Kingdom expected, to purchase Peace at any Rate. When their King Published these Preliminaries, with his Manifesto upon them the Month following, given us in the *Flying-Post* of *June 14, 1709*, the People Univerſally forgot all their Resentments against their Prince, and turned them into the utmost Indignation against the Allies for what they called, most Insolent Demands: And resolved

ved to stand by their Monarch to the last Man and the last Penny they had. And accordingly the Clergy, the Nobility, Gentry, Cities, and every one in his Station, exerted themselves in an extraordinary Manner, to enable him to carry on that Defensive War I have been speaking of; and which it may be presumed neither that King, nor our Generals at that time knew he could be able to Effect as he has done. And if we cannot change this State of the War, and bring him again to lose whole Provinces at a Blow by a General Battel; but on the Contrary, to make us spend a Pound for his Penny, and Ten Men at least for his One in Sieges; there will be Danger of our being Exhausted, before we come at an Honourable Peace by this method of War. And why then not insist upon the former Preliminaries without Bating an Ace? This is really all the Conclusion can be drawn from the Arguments of the Enemies to Peace. They desire Two Preliminaries to be granted them, as Reasonable as the former, before they Treat upon this Subject of Peace: First, That the Expence, and Secondly, The Tedioussness of this War may not be considered at all, with this Reason for it, That whoever thinks of these, is Frenchified, and certainly in their Interest. And this prevails, like a Charm, by the Sound; no matter for the Sense of it. And to shew that

that, this, is a Fundamental Article, *The Vindication of the Present M——y* puts it as a Lemma upon his Title Page in these Words, *Whoever would frighten us with the Expence and Tediousness of such a War, either are not sensible of our Danger, or if they are, they draw a Poison'd Arrow out of a French Quiver.* But, Sir, this Arrow may be drawn out of a better Quiver, even his who Appeals to the common Sense of Mankind, whether he that is about to Build a Tower, should not first sit down and Compute the Expence? And a King that goes to War, to consider his Strength? or else to accept Conditions of Peace in time. But the Lemma contains one Sentence more, *viz. Such a Peace (upon supposition we could warrant it) is to be Rejected with Scorn and Indignation by every true English Man, as being both Dishonourable and Destructive to his Country.* To which he subscribes, *Anguis in Herba.* And very Justly, for by the last Word *Country* he means a *Late M——y*, and then the Snake is out of the Grass, and we see him plainly Hissing out and Crying, *such a Peace*; to be called to Account for Thirty Five Millions and more, and for rejecting Safe and Honourable Terms, in hopes to put as much more into our own Pockets — Is both Dishonourable and Destructive, and to be Rejected with Scorn and Indignation by every one who is grown Great and Rich by it.

But

But they were Powerful too, even to be Secure. They had the Money of the Nation in their Hands, to dispose of without Account; by which they entered into Foreign Alliances (and these afterwards Interposed for them, even to Insult Her Majesty, and tell her she must not part with them) having first put all Places of Trust and Profit into the Hands of their Creatures at Home, which most of them Enjoy still: And lastly, to Rivet the Machine, they Guarded every Avenue to Her Majesty, that she might receive no Intelligence; and had they stopt here, they might have Resigned longer; but thinking themselves then Impregnable, they let Nature Work, and with their Gratitude threw off the Reverence and even common Respect due to Her Majesty, till she found her self Distressed and Beset in her own Palace, by those whom her meer Grace and Favour had raised to the Capacity of thus using her.

They are now Grieved to see the Treasury so well Managed, that by paying ready Money *Cent, per Cent.* is saved of what they Expended in Provisions for the Navy and other publick Expences, which they took up at double Rates upon Credit, to the vast Encrease of the Debts of the Nation, having other Ways to dispose of the Money, and yet the Exchequer never the Richer for it.

But they know very well that (even) this Alteration of the Management will not be able to carry on the War; by all the Circumstances can possibly be taken, without extreme Difficulties upon the Queen and the Ministry, considering other Condition in which they have left Affairs, and therefore they cry War — War — and Continue the War by all means — That they may be Distressed, who have Distressed us — Which if not Victory, is yet Revenge.

On the other Part, they through whose Hands many Millions must pass if the War continues, and in whose Power it then will be to make the same use of it, their Bredecessors have done, these Vows for Peace, Labour in it, and venture their All for it: Which shews to a Demonstration who they are that have most at Heart the publick Good, and who their own private Interest; who act out of Principle, and who out of Pique and 'Resentment'; besides the Terror of being called to Account for past Mismanagements, of which I have spoke before. And what is there so Desperate such Men will not Undertake or Attempt to save themselves from such a Judgment. I think no Case can be made Clearer, or more fully Detect the true Intention and Meaning of all their Professing to persuade us not yet: Not yet: To get out of so Ruinous and Desperate a War: Not yet, till we have

Conquered

Conquered; all *Spain* and the *Indies*: Not while any Part of the Spanish Monarchy remains, nor any Prince of the House of *Bourbon*: Not till then to Inquire into past Misdemeanors, or into our present Condition, or to have any thought of the future. And then, and not till then, they will be willing to come to an Account, and justify all their former Proceedings. And give us some rational Prospect of Continuing the War to the Advantage of *Britain*.

Among these Advantages there was one wish which they used to make the greatest Noise, who are now perfectly Silent in it; that is, the Cause of Religion, the Support and Preservation of the Protestant Interest Abroad. And there is some Cause for their Dropping it at this time. Because I think the extending the limits of the Reformation has not been any Part of our wondrous Successes, during this long War. At the Peace of *Reswick* particular Care was taken in the Fourth Article, That in all the Protestant Countries which had been Over-run by *France*, and were then to be Restored, the Churches which the Papists had Seized while the French had the Dominion there, should not be returned to the Protestants; but that the State of Religion should continue the same as when those Countries were in the Possession of *France*. By which means above Fifteen
Hundred

Hundred Churches in the *Palatinate* were taken from the Protestants, and are still Possessed by the Papists; And the *Electo Palatine* vouches the *Peace of Resnick* as his Warrant for maintaining them in their Usurpation. And the French King in his Letter to the Arch-Bishop of *Raris* showed Thanksgiving upon that Peace, instancing this Success of his most particularly, that he had Established the Catholic Religion every where in his Conquests; by the Consent of Sovereigns of a different Persuasion; so that whatever he lost otherwise, yet he still Triumphed over Heresie. This was the Issue of our first Ten Years War as to the Protestant Interest Abroad.

But we have had much greater Successes in this Ten Years War now going on, in *Germany*, in *Spain*, and in *Flanders*. And yet I remember not one single Church the Papists have lost by it, or the Protestants recovered of what was their own before; No not after the famous Battle of *Blenheim*, when we had it in our Power, more than the King of *Sweden* afterwards, to make some Ballance for all the Churches taken from the Protestants in the *Palatinate* and other Parts of *Germany*. We may add to this Melancholy Prospect, the Protestant Interest, not long since in a promising Condition, now quite Ruined and given up to the Emperour in *Hungary*. And the Protestants in *Silesia* little

is better for the Liberties and Immunities lately obtained for them by the King of *Sweden*. And no Hopes of Retrieving the Miserably Persecuted and once Famous Protestant Churches in *Bohemia*, the poor Remains of which are fled for Shelter into *Poland*, where they make a hard Shift to subsist, though in Circumstances most Forlorn. But instead of Supporting or Retrieving the Protestant Interest Abroad, we have seen during the Course of these Wars the First Protestant Elector and great Supporter of the Reformation in *Germany*, the Duke of *Saxony*, gone over to *Rome*, and the Prince his Son in Danger of following. The Duke of *Wolfenbuttle*, Head of the Family of *Brunswick*, is likewise turned Papist, as his Grand Daughter did a little before to be Queen of *Spain*. And the Papists have lately obtained Two Churches even in *Hanover*, whereof One belongs to the Jesuits; and yet the Reformed are not suffered to have any Church within the City, though the Princess *Sophia* herself is one of their Congregation.

It now only remains to consider, whether the Prosecution of this War will in likelihood prove of more Advantage to the Protestant Interest Abroad than it hitherto has been? Which of our Allies (except the Dutch) have any thing more at Heart, than to Obstruct it as far as lyes in their Power? And which are most Bigotted the

French

French or the Austrians? Have not the last always persecuted the Protestants most Cruelly? Will not what was done in *Bohemia*, in *Hungary*, and in *Piedmont*: at least equal the Severities lately shewed to the Hugonots in *France*. And yet there was not one Article in Favour of the Protestants of any Country whatsoever, either in the Grand Alliance for this present War, or in the former Preliminaries offered by all these Powers at the *Hague*, and afterwards insisted on at *Gertruydenburgh*; on the contrary, you will find, Article Twenty Third this general Clause — *The whole on this express Condition, that the Roman Catholick Religion shall be maintained in all the said Places to be delivered up, and in all their Dependancies, in the same Manner as it is now Established there.* This is the same as the Fourth Article of the Peace of *Reswick*. And this they say is not to be Denied to the Papists, though we have Conquered them. And by this we see what Advantage the Prosecution of this War will be to the Protestant Interest Abroad.

If it be said, That this is no War of Religion, it will easily be believed not to be so on our Side. And by what the Protestant Interest Abroad has gained, or is likely to gain by it, the sooner it is Ended the Better.

I said that this was no War of Religion on our Side, but I cannot say so on the other, even on that of our Popish Allies, for it is well known the Pope was at the Bottom of the first Confederacy against *France*, if he was not the first Mover of it, in order to Restore his Supremacy thrown off there, as well by the King as the whole Gallican Church, in their General Assembly of the Year 1682. And the Pope was so much offended at those Four memorable Propositions they passed against his Supremacy and Infallibility, that he refused to Preconise any Bishop afterwards Nominated by the King, unless he would Renounce these Propositions, which all of them refusing to do, by this means there were at the Death of that Pope (*Innocent XI.*) about Fifty Bishopricks vacant in *France*. But the next Pope *Alexander VIII.* being with a great deal of Reason apprehensive of such a total Defection of the Kingdom of *France*, as had formerly happened in *England*, proved on one Side less Tenacious, than his Predecessor; and on the other the King finding himself sore pressed by the Confederacy formed against him by *Innocent XI.* he was at last obliged to consent to a Compromise with the Pope: The first Conquest which the Confederacy obtained against that Monarch. But this did not alter the Principles of the Gallican Church

in this Matter, of which they have given several Instances since. And there is lately Printed at *Paris* a very Learned Defence of these Propositions of the Gallican Church in 1682, by One of the most Eminent Pens in *France*, Intituled, *Traité de la Puissance Ecclesiastique et Temporelle* 1707. Approved of (as I hear) by all there, except the Jesuits and the Bigotted, which are but few of the Learned or Considerable, according to the best Accounts we have from thence. Of which this celebrated Book, (yet unanswered, that I hear of) is a great Instance, wherein all the Arguments formerly in Vogue with the Partizans of *Rome*, or now made use of to Support the Supremacy and Infallibility of the Pope are clearly Overthrown with great Learning and Strength of Reason. So that upon the whole I cannot see but that if some unhappy Reasons of State had not interferred to prevent so great a Blessing; the Reformation would have been by this time as far Advanced in *France*, as it was in *England*, during the Reign of our *Hen. VIII.* who Burned Men for denying Transubstantiation, and left Monney in his Will for Praying his Soul out of *Purgatory*. He Reformed in nothing but as to the Pope's Supremacy (which is indeed the first and great Step), and *France* had done as much in Effect, when to stop the threatening Progress, Pope *Innocent XI.* Engaged his most Zealous Sons in a Confederacy

federacy against France; into which some Protestant Powers were drawn upon Temporal Prospects, and we were at last Grafted into it. In the *Abstracts of the Foreign Leagues* given into the Parliament in the Year 1692 of which you have a Copy in your Closet, we find in the particular League with Spain and the Emperour, 31 December 1690, Article the Fourth, That no Peace be made before — All things in the Ecclesiasticks — Be Restored as in their former State. What is meant by the Ecclesiasticks here is more fully explained in *The Resolution of the Princes, Allies, and Confederats, which was taken in the Assembly at the Hague, February 1691*, as it was done out of the French, and Printed here, whereof the First Article is, a Solemn Protestation before God, That they will never break off their Union, nor make any Peace with Lewis XIV. till he has made Reparation to the Holy See, for whatsoever he has Acted against it; and till he Annul and make Void all those Infamous Proceedings against the Holy Father, Innocent. XI.

If these Proceedings were Infamous, our whole Reformation was so, for they were the same. The First Step was to Break the Pope's Supremacy and Infallibility, and then we were upon Even Ground to Dispute other Points with him. And if we had stood by the French in this, against the Pope and his Confederates, we might

with the Blessing of God, have seen before this Day the Protestant Interest Triumphant Abroad, and by much the Over-Ballance in Europe, if not in Possession of *Rome* it self. Nothing Humane could have stop'd the Mightry Progress of it, if *England* had not been Engaged to Oppose it. The Principles of the Church of *France* are still the same. But *France* is now so Reduced that neither we, nor the Pope need fear any Attempt from thence for some Ages to come. Nay we were never in Danger as to our selves, nor ever can be while we are so much Superior at Sea. And if that King did Design an Universal Monarchy, what Man of Sense can believe that he would Embarras himself with Conquering an Island, which would cost him more than extending his Arms over all the Continent? And he never yet Attempted it when he was more Powerful than he is now, or ever like to be again. But if we are under Apprehensions of an Universal Monarchy, I would ask any true Protestant whether he would have it in the Hands of the Bigotted Popery, or of the Reformed Popery? Which are nearest to us? And which would most likely put a stop to, or enlarge the Encroachments of the Church of *Rome*? And let us in this Consideration, as in the War, think not only of our selves (though we may be safe) but also of our Neighbours on the Continent,

nent, the Protestant Interest Abroad. Of which no doubt the Queen will take all the Care that is in her Power in the present Treaty. But if the War should outlast her (which God of His infinite Mercy prevent) where will they find such another Protector? And as to the Church of *England* in particular, which of the Successors next in the Establishment, can we suppose so naturally Affected to her, or to Episcopacy? And will so assuredly think her Interest their own in Relation to the Whigs and Dissenters amongst us? Therefore it is the Concern of every true Son of the Church of *England* to Pray for the Queen's Life, and a happy and speedy Peace. For what can we expect from a War in the Foundation of which Religion had little or no concern, on the one Side, and so very much on the other: And the Progress of which has been Ruinous to the Protestant Interest Abroad: And kept *France* under the Subjection of the Pope? I wish I could say it had not its Effects among us too, even as to Religion, for besides the Floods of Atheism and Profaneness, let in upon us, chiefly among the Gentry, to a Degree never before seen in *England*; it is also true, that from the Days of Queen *Mary* there has not been such a Run to Popery known in this Kingdom, especially in *London* among the common Sort, nor such Swarms of Popish Missionaries, as since the Commence-

ment

ment of the War, for our Popish Allies are their Protectors; who yet will grant us nothing in favour of the Protestants in their Countries; no not where it would be most Beneficial to the common Cause; as to do Justice to the Protestants in *Hungary*, who gave so great Diverſion to the Austrian Forces, and yet the Two late Emperours would not hearken to all our Sollicitations on their behalf, and we have at last seen them fall a Sacrifice to the Jesuit Interest at *Vienna*. We not only looking on, but helping to prevent the greater Evil of the growing Reformation in *France*: Which is not the Design of some Half-faced Protestants, whose Religion was subservient to their Ambition; yet certainly was the Effect of this Confederated War: Which has laid the Ax to the Root of the Reformation abroad, has lost us the Duke of *Saxony*, *Wittenburg*, &c. And filled us with a fresh Set of Refugees from the *Palatinate*, that Prince being willing to part with his Protestant Subjects, though to the Discompling of his own Country. Whereas, on the other Hand, a Seminary of Jesuits is lately set up at *Munover*, this Favour being obtained for them by the Emperour. Therefore while so great Zeal is shewed by our Allies for their Religion, let us shew for ours, a little. And as the Cry is on the one Side, *No Peace without Spain*; may not the other Side as

Honesty

Honestly say, (if Peace and War is to be Determined by the People) *No more War*, till all the Churches in the *Palatinate* taken from the Protestants since the War began are Restored to them: And the Protestants in *Hungary* be put in as good Condition at least as they were before: And the new Plantation of Jesuits removed out of *Hannover*, at least further from the Court: And the Protestants in *Silesia* be put in full Possession of all the Liberties granted them by the late Treaty of *Alt-Ranstad*, of which We and the Dutch are Guarrantees. Let us have Justice done us at least, if we get no Favour. And if we must go to War again, let it be upon new Terms: Let the Protestant Interest have some Share in our Quarrels, as Popery hitherto has had All. And since every one is Cutting and Carving the Peace, and putting in what Articles he pleases, let the Emperour, the Duke of *Savoy*, the Elector *Palatine*, and our other Popish Allies, give good Security, let this be a Preliminary in our New Alliance, That the Protestants in each of their respective Countries, may be Restored, and for ever hereafter, confirmed in all their Just Rights and Privileges: And let the Protestant Allies enter into a strict Confederacy among themselves to Secure and Guarrantee what shall be so stipulated on behalf of these Protestants. And that Cautionary Towns in these several Popish Countries

tries be put into the Hands of these Guarantees for Performance of Articles, because we have Experience of frequent Breach of Promises upon this Head, as lately in *Silesia*. And if we cannot obtain this from our Allies now when we are Necessary to them, in vain shall we expect it when they will have no further Use for us. And we shall not only see the Protestant Interest abroad Ruined, but we shall do it with our own Hands, by Lending our Arms to their Sworn Enemies. And what Advantage can we propose by the War that will be equal to this Mischief? Therefore let every One who has any Concern for the Protestant Interest, either at Home or Abroad, wish and say, no more War, no more War, till these Preliminaries are obtained.

And with what I have named above, let us not forget to have that Liberty and Exercise of our Religion confirmed to us throughout the Kingdom of *Portugal* which *Oliver* obtained for us, and was Enjoyed during the Reign of King *Charles II.* But now quite Lost, except one Chaplain, I think, allowed to the Factory at *Lisbon*.

And I see no Reason why we should not likewise Insist upon the Restoration of the Protestant Churches in *Bohemia*, driven thence by cruel Persecutions.

And

And since hitherto we have been so obliging to our Popish Allies, as to let their Religion alone be Established in all the Countries taken from *France*, though they were Protestant before, as in the *Palatinate*, &c. Is it not reasonable that for the future, if the War must go on, that the Protestant Religion be Established in what Countries or Places shall be hereafter Conquered (if any such there be) in proportion to the Part the Protestant Forces, or those in Protestant Pay, shall have in the Reduction of such Places? If this be Denied, then our Allies must think, That because we bear the greatest Share of the War, both by Sea and Land, in Men, Money, and the Bravery of our Troops; and have taken nothing to our selves of all that has been Conquered, nor asked any Re-imbursment of our Charges, we are therefore Bound to go on at the same Rate for ever. And to take no Care of our Allies in Religion, because it was not done in the Alliances made in the last Reign. If this be the Case, let Wise Men consider what we have to do.

But if among the Crowd, I durst presume to suggest my Thoughts on so Nice and Important a Subject, I should only wish, the Example formerly set us by the Wisest as well as the most Powerful of our Allies may be duely Considered and Imitated as it deserves. We find in *St. Didier's*

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History

History of the Treaty of *Nimeguen* the following remarkable Passage.

“ The *States General* who paid great Subsidies to all the Princes that had entered into their Alliance, began then to think of retrenching so vast an Expence; and this they concluded the more reasonable to be done, because they found they were only exhausting themselves to no purpose, in a Cause which was now entirely that of their Allies, and in which they ought to have no farther Concern, but in common with all the rest. As Glorious as it was for the *States* to reckon among their Pensioners, the Emperour, the Kings of *Spain* and *Denmark*, almost all the Electors, the Princes of the House of *Brunswick*, the Duke of *Newbourg*, and the Bishop of *Munster*, this Consideration did not hinder them, from giving these several Princes to understand that their Commonwealth was no longer able to pay such excessive Subsidies — However this Retrenchment was not made immediately, but the *Dutch Ambassadors* (at *Nimeguen*) declared to those of their Allies, that they would pay none of them for the following Campaign, unless the *French* were first put to the Test; and by their refusal of reasonable Terms, convicted of being the only Obstacles to Peace.

Holland, had in 1672 been Invaded by the *French*, who seemed to aim at no less, than the

the utter Ruin of that Commonwealth. The *Distressed States* had immediately recourse to the Compassion and Assistance of all the Neighbouring Princes. They filled them with Jealousies and Fears of the farther Ambitious Designs of *France*, and what with Reasons of State, and what with the Promise of large Subsidies, all these Powers were one after another drawn into the Quarrel, and very effectually saved *Holland*, by drawing upon themselves the Victorious Arms of the Common Enemy, who made many Campaigns in the *Netherlands* as Successful as any of ours, though nothing near so Expensive to him, and all for his own immediate Advantage. The Confederates though always upon the Looseing Hand, were however willing to carry on the War in Hopes of better Fortune; and the rather, because in the mean time the Heaviest Losses always fell upon the Spaniards, who under a Weak Government, and a very Corrupt Administration were made the Property of all their Allies. But the States seeing the Danger removed, and being unwilling to be any longer at what they then began to think an unnecessary Expence, clap'd up a Separate Peace by which they abandoned to the French King, most of the Towns which he had taken during that War in the *Spanish Netherlands*, as *Aire*, *Bouchain*, *Conde*, *Ipris*, *St. Omer*, *Valenciennes*, *Cambray*, &c. and which they now want to have retaken

at the Expence of our Blood and Treasure, and put into their Possession for a Barrier against *France*. Now if such a Conduct was justifiable in the Dutch; how much more reasonable would it be for us, who at the Beginning engaged in this War, purely for the sake of others, to put an End to it for our own? And all the Dangers that were apprehended from the Exorbitant Power of *France* being vanished, why should we not *Induce or if possible Engage* our Allies to make Peace upon reasonable Terms? And such we now cannot fail of obtaining, unless we should be as much Infatuated in managing the Negotiations, as we have been in carrying on the War, which has been properly to us, what the Civilians term *Leonina Societas*, that is, a Partnership in which the Toil and Expence is the whole Share of one Party, whilst all the Profit and Advantages accrue to another.

I will conclude with this Observation, That in all these Debates about Peace and War I have not heard the Word Justice, that any thing is proposed upon that Head, of Relieving the Oppressed, and Restoring them to their Right against the Encroachments of a prevailing Power: But on the other Hand, all the Discourses are upon the Point of Ballancing, that is, a new Partition of the World, that no one Nation may be an Over-Ballance to another in Riches or Power, of which we have had several Schemes, no Two of which agree

agree together; and this is thought the only Method to procure a Firm and Lasting Peace; without Regard of taking from any by Violence what is truly and justly their own.

This is like the Notion of Levelling among private Persons, it is first impossible to be done. And if it were done, if all the Riches of the World were equally Divided among all the Men in it, it would not Continue so till the Clock struck next, for some would be Stronger than others and Rob them, or Craftier and Cheat them. And there would be Confederacies of Thieves, Men void of Justice and Honour, who would Combine to Oppress the Innocent, and make their Power the only Rule of Law and Equity. And thus it is among Nations, it is impossible to bring them to an equal Ballance of Power or Riches. And if it were done, if all the Nations of the Earth were reduced to an equal Ballance even of a Grain Weight, then a Grain on any Side would cast the Ballance. And this Ten Thousand Accidents every Day would produce, a prosperous Voyage on one Side, and Unfortunate on another; a Wiser or a Weaker Administration in one Government than another, would turn the Ballance vastly. So that we must Ballance the Wisdom, the Industry, and the Courage of Men, as well as their Honesty and Conscience; and likewise secure Providence not to favour one more than another, if we would fix the Peace of the World upon this Project of Ballancing. It is

is ~~indeed~~ no other than to take the Government of the World out of the Hands of Providence, and Entrust it to our own Skill and Management. Instead of *Dieu et Mon Droit*, it is *Je Maintiendrai*.

God has divided the World into Nations, Greater and Lesser as He has thought fit. And He keeps the Ballance of Power in His own Hands: But Men would fain have it in their own Hands. Every Nation would have it; it runs through all the Schemes of Ballancing that have been Printed amongst us. They cannot conceal it; they say, if such and such a Partition were made, then *England* might hold the Ballance of Europe — But may not *Holland*, or *France*, or *Spain* say, more especially the Emperour, why should *England* hold the Ballance? In short every one is for themselves; and if we must not have Peace till all the Powers in Europe agree, who shall hold the Ballance, the World may End before our Wars come to a Conclusion. So that instead of giving us Peace, or preventing future Wars, this Ballancing is the Cause of our Wars, and if we pursue, it will make them Perpetual.

For it is as feasible to Ballance the Creation anew, to put the Winds into your Scales, and make a more equal Partition of Earth and Seas, as to bring what we call the Ballance of Power to such an Equilibrium as we vainly Dream: For if we make it Ebb in one Place, it will Flow in another, and we shall but change Hands. There
ever

ever will be a Superior Power, and something to Apprehend and Fear from our Neighbours. And we must be Content, for so has God Ordained, and Disposed the World in His Wisdom, that our Trust may be in Him alone, and that acknowledging His absolute Sovereignty, we should make Justice and not our own Power the Measure of our Actions. When we do otherwise, He often lets us see our Folly as well as Irreligion, by suffering many Years War to leave us nothing but Repentance for all the Blood and Treasure we have Expended; and more Ballancing Work still upon our Hands.

There is a Beautiful Image of this given by *Spenser*, where he introduces a Giant with a Pair of Scales *Fearie Queen* in his Hand, to Weigh the Earth, l. 5. c. ii. Sea, Fire, and Air, to Retrieve the Encroachments they had made upon one another, and Reduce them to an equal Ballance: And likewise to Weigh all Nations, and by taking from one, and adding to another, to bring them to a Ballance of Power. And thus had Inveagled Multitudes of the unthinking People to Destroy one another, upon the Quarrel whose Subjects they should be. But Justice having first Detected the Folly as well as Impiety of his Arguments, threw him Headlong into the Sea, as the Disturber of the Peace of Mankind; and persuaded the People to leave
God

God to Govern the World, and make Justice their Rule.

If this was done, and there were a general Confederacy to make Justice the Foundation of our Wars, to Restore every Man to his Right, and go no further. it would be the most probable Means to secure Peace on Earth, and we might expect the Blessing of Providence upon such just Undertakings. And the best way to Preserve our own Right would be found in Supporting the Right of others, but not to Invade the Right of any, nor think it just, because we have Power to do it. This is to Root all Notions of Right and Wrong, that is of God, out of the World, and to set up our own Lusts and Pleasures as the Standard of Good and Evil. And this is the true Source of all our Wars, as the Apostle tells us, *Ja. iv. 1, 2, 3.* From whence come Wars and Fightings among you? Come they not from hence, even of your Lusts that War in your Members? Ye Lust, and have not: Ye Kill and Desire to have, and cannot obtain: Ye Fight and War, yet ye have not, because ye ask not: Ye Ask and Receive not, because ye ask amiss, that ye may Consume it upon your Lusts.

F I N I S.

March 6. 1711-12.

SINCE my Last several things are come to light, which have made good the Justice of my Reasonings in my former Letter, and deserve some further Animadversions; as particularly that inveterate Prejudice and Malice of a certain Party against the Queen and her Ministry, so give the worst Turns possible to every Word and Action of the Government, grounded upon Innuendoes of their own Invention. These Papers and Pamphlets I took notice of before, supposed it for certain, that the Preliminaries (as they will have the First Officers of France called) were signed or consented to by the Queen, and made conclusive upon her Allies. But we have since had Assurances from the Throne, and the Confession of France, her self by her Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, that they were Obligatory on the part of France only, and not upon Her Majesty or any other of the Allies. Now if any Truth or Modesty were to be expected from these Men, we should have seen some Retractation, and Owning their Mistake, and Begging pardon for all their groundless Calumnies cast upon their
I Sovereign

Sovereign on this Account. But instead of that we find them still increasing in their Insolence and Malice; and (we have reason to bless God) in their Impudence too and Want of Sense.

There is lately come out a *Third Part* of the *Defence of the Allies and the Late Ministry*, in further answer to *The Conduct of the Allies &c.* which he overthrows by such Musical Words as *Ignorant, Impertinent, Kallimach;* and other the like Flowers of his Half-brain'd Eloquence; for which he is justly chastised by the Ingenious Author of the *Conduct* in his *Remarks on the Baviere Treaty*.

There is another Piece called *The Offers of France examin'd*, which answers Facts in the same Strain of Rhetorick, and probably done by the same Hand: The Sum Total of which is, *We are not satisfied, nor will we ever be satisfied, let the Queen, or this Ministry, do what they will.* And concludes with a Resolution to demand and insist upon the Old Preliminaries prescribed to France in 1709. And what (says he) the Enemy will have the Justice and Equity to yield us what we have hitherto been fighting for. And what is the Ground of His Hopes that they will do it now, seeing they refused it when they were in much worse Circumstances, soon after the Battle of Ramellies? His Reason is, Because the Dolphin is dead — But, Sir, this is a stronger

get this Reason why we should haſten to conclude the Peace, that we may ſecure the Offer now made by the French King, to uſe his own Endeavours, and conſent to a Guarantee of all the Potentates in Europe, that France and Spain may not come into the ſame Hand; it being now nearer in view by the Death of the Dauphin. And a Regency upon the Death of the King, (not far off by the Courſe of Nature) may not think themſelves impower'd, or to be willing to be afterwards called in queſtion, for offering to preclude the Right of him who may poſſibly come to be their King; and would not then think himſelf oblig'd by their Determination ſo much as by the King his Grandfather; who may find means better than they can do, to induce or engage perhaps the Spaniards themſelves to come into theſe Meaſures.

And let not the Proſpect of a Regency in France exalt us too much. God calls Himſelf the Protector of the Fatherleſs and Widows. This preſent King of France was not Five Years old, when his Father died, and left him engag'd in a War againſt Both the Branches of the Houſe of Austria and their Allies. And that Great Miniſter and Pillar of the State Cardinal Richelieu, being dead but about Half a Year before, he was ſucceeded by Cardinal Mazarini, a Foreigner of a mean Extraction, which rais'd the Envy and oc-

caused the general Discontent of the Neger-
 bility and Gentry of *France*, which broke out
 into a Rebellion, at last happily quelled. But
 the Arms of the King, & Ministry, suc-
 ceeded gloriously, and reduced both the *Em-
 peror* and *Spain* to submit to Peace, by gi-
 ving up *Alsace* and other great Provinces to
 the *French*. And no Years of his life were
 crowned with more remarkable Successes
 than the Four first of his Majesty. But
 now it has pleased God to afflict him, to
 shew that He ruled in the Kingdoms of
 Men. Let us not be high minded because
 All our Lives are in His Hands, and all our
 Affairs. One Sinner ought to tremble when
 he sees the Scourge of God upon another.
 And who is so innocent as to throw the
 First Stone? *Solomon* bids us not rejoice at
 the Fall of our Enemy, lest our own Sins be
 called to remembrance. I hope I may say
 That whatever the Condition of *France* may
 be, it ought not to make us insist on
 unreasonable in our Demands. But there
 are some among us who delight in War,
 and cavil at every thing proposed by *France*,
 tho' it be to acknowledge the Queen and
 the Succession of *Henry*. For say they,
 it should be done before the Treaty was
 Yet no such thing was insisted upon at the
 Treaty of *Reims*, it was thought sufficient
 that *Henry* should be owned before the
 Conclusion of the Treaty. But these Men
 would have it thought that they have more
 regard

regard to the Honour of the Queen, than of himself. This appears in *The Offers of France* explained, where, p. 4. another Objection is made against the Offer of *Acknowledging the Succession in the Manner Her Majesty shall think fit*, which he says, *Gives ground for various Speculations*. This is for Her Majesty's Honour too. As much as it is for the Service of the Late Ministry (whose Cause he defends) than as he says, p. 16. "Two Years ago France asked nothing but Naples and Sicily, thirty or thirty, for the Duke of Anjou." Why then were not such advantageous Offers accepted? Can he give any other Reason, but that the Late Ministry were resolved not to have no Peace upon any Terms whatsoever? And then will not all the Blood and the Millions spent these Two Last Years of the War (at least) lie at their Door? This unskillful Thrasher knocks himself on the Head with his own Flail. He is very angry with the French for offering so little; yet p. 11, 12, says it was *very ridiculous and impudent* in them not to ask for the Restitution of *Bouchain* among other Places they demanded, and says, it was done on purpose to disgrace the Late Government, and lessen the Glory of the Last Campaign, and to shew there was no worth continuing, or that it was dangerous to be shaken while the Peace was creating. This with a good natur'd Remembrance. What will satisfy these Men? Can nothing do it but the Prospect of another Ten Year's War? Is the

the French demand much, they are unreasonable; and they are impudent if they ask no more, and have some Design in it. 10 Publick gives a good Reason why the Dutch should ask nothing at all, because they have nothing to fear from us; for, says he, *publick*, "Peace is so much the Interest of *England*" and the States, that they (the French) have "no reason to think we shall disturb them; if they do not disturb us." 11 This would be some Security to the French; if we were so wise as not sometimes to mistake our own Interest. But he thinks the Dutch can never have Barrier enough, and says, they cannot part with *Lisse* and *Tournay*, because they are a Security to their other Barriers, and bids us look on the Map. Yes, Sir, and there we find other Places beyond them would be a Security to them; and so you may have one Barrier to secure another to the End of the Continent. And they may oblige every Prince and State, as they have the King of Spain, in the Second Separate Article of the Barrier Treaty, to remove the Limits of his Country further from their Towns, Places, and Forts, to the end that these may not be exposed any more. And those Places which must not be exposed must have no Neighbours. And observe that these Places to which this Privilege is reserved, are what we have conquered from them in Flanders: And we are obliged by the Fourth Article of this Treaty, to conquer as many more Towns and Forts as the said, in order

order to their being a further Barrier and Security to the said States. And by the Fifth Article, not only all the Spanish Low-Countries, but whosoever may be found necessary, whether Conquered and Unconquered Places, shall serve as a Barrier, or other States. So that if the States should find it necessary for us to conquer all other Way to Peru, as a further and further Barrier for them, the Property of all would be theirs, tho' they might please to let us wear the Title of France, as the King of Spain to his Low-Countries, till they found it necessary for them to make the Title follow the Possession.

But what Notion had they of the English Understanding, when by this Treaty we find our selves Excluded from the Benefit of that Trade we had before in all those Places we have Conquered for them? And if we let this go, we may be Sure it will be the Same if we should Conquer France, Spain, and the Empire for them. And yet the securing our Trade is made the Main Article of the War. We had a beneficial Trade with Flanders while in the Enemies hands, but now have Stipulated with our Friends to Ease themselves of the Dutys formerly paid to Spain, but to leave them upon us, that we may be able to Trade there no more. Though at the same time they have Reserved to Themselves an Equal Benefit of Trade with what may be given us in Spain and Elsewhere. Yet their Interest and ours is Inseparable.

other Men: And that there are Public as well as Private Robberies. How far out then was Honest Prince *Eugene* in his *Sentiments* (before quoted) when he told the *States General*, that *Extending of Frontiers was entirely contrary to the Maxims of their Government*? But *Maxims* defend no *Frontiers*. And as little will all I can say disarm the Oppressor, or relieve the Oppressed, hinder or further Treaties. Therefore I have said enough for nothing.

• We need not fear any thing now, for the Most *Christian King* is to take the *Abjuration*.

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